

A
LETTER
From a Person of
HONOUR in the COUNTRY
Written to the EARL of
CASTLEHAVEN.
BEING
Observations and Reflections
Upon his Lordships
MEMOIRES
Concerning the
WARS of IRELAND.

LONDON;

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A
LETTER

Written to the EARL of
CASTLEHAVEN.

My Lord Castlehaven,

HAVING Received your Lordships of the 24th Current, with your printed Memoires, which you are pleased in some sort to Intitle me to; and I will not conceal from your Lordship that I am not yet ashamed, now I have read them, though I cannot approve all in them, that I was the first incentive to your Writing them; which was upon this occasion, having sat along with your Lordship

in Parliament, and observing for the most part such a consent between your Lordship and me, in proceedings there upon the most abstracted Principles of Honour and Allegiance, I could not but account of your Lordship as a true Englishman and a Loyal Subject, whatsoever blemish your engagement under the confederate Rebels of *Ireland* had before fixed on you; and having heard you so often pathetically declare your self fully to mine and most honest Mens Minds, against the dangers of the growing greatness of the *French* and the too fast Declension of the *Spaniard*, between which great Powers of the World, the Crown of *England* was so happy and wise in former times as to hold and guide the Ballance; and finding by your frequent, and as I could not but conceive, Cordial Expressions against the Pope of *Rome's* Usurping Authority in these Dominions, over and against his Majesty, and Kingdoms, to such a degree,

gree, that you spared not, like a right Ancient Peer of this Realm, often to say, That if the Pope himself should Attack any of his Majesties Dominions, you would be one of the first to labour his Destruction; I was deservedly much delighted in your Lordships Converse; which having been often honoured with, both by your Letters, when in Foreign parts, and your favourable Society here at home, I was instrumental, as your Lordship well knows, to prevail with the Parliament to set a mark of great Honour on your Lordship, by a special recommendation and intercession to his Majesty for a regard to and reparation of the Breaches time and misfortune had made upon so Ancient and Honourable a Family. And looking upon your Lordship as a Peer of most noble Principles, and free of the worst part of Bigotry, I could not but lament your leaving the Parliament, and still wish your return.

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During our said Converse, being engaged in the History of *Ireland*, to which I was the more inclined by an interest there in for several Generations; my Great Grandfather, Sir *John Perrot*, having been Deputy thereof, governing the same with great Wisdom and Success, my Grandfather *Annesley* having been Commander at Sea in Queen *Elizabeths* time, and one of the Undertakers for Land in *Munster*, after the Earl of *Desmond's* Rebellion; my Father, the Lord Baron of *Mount-norris*, and Viscount of *Valentia* (of whom I have very often heard your Lordship speak with great Honour, and as your worthy Friend) having faithfully served King *James* and King *Charles* the First, near Forty years in that Kingdom, in Offices and Employments of high Trust; and I myself being a Native of the City of *Dublin*, a diligent Observer of the Troubles there, wherein I had some share; and having both Honours and Lands de-

descended to me in that Realm ; and knowing that your Lordship had heretofore a great part in the Action there, and taking notice that no Memorials I had yet seen, did give a full account of your Lordship , whom as my own Friend and my Fathers Friend , I was willing to do right to in History , as far as I could ; ever highly esteeming the Bravery of your Actions and Wisdom of your Conduct , as far as I had Cognizance thereof, though I *bemoaned* the unhappy circumstances of your engaging under a Power usurping over your own Prince , and incroaching Royal Power ; which I find you cannot digest , either the Pope or Duke of *Lorraine* should have done : I discoursed with your Lordship many of the most important Designs , Actions and Traverses of Fortune in *Ireland*, since the fatal 23 of *October* 1641, and finding by your full Relations, with a perfect memory thereof , that you were able to give help to History

therein ; I moved your Lordship (to which you friendly consented) that at leasure hours you would reduce to writing what you could remember, with as exact reference to Time and Order (as you could recollect) of Passages and Exploits there ; and that I might by your favour be possessed thereof : And I wish things had rested there , little expecting a formal Relation in print , and much less so introduced before I had the perusal of it ; for I must now acquaint your Lordship, that I did not , after what I have above related , save now and then to your self, inquire after your Memoires promised me, till by a Letter of the 16th of this moneth, from a hand I respect, I had notice he had seen them ; and my Censure thereon was desired, they seeming to him (after 28 years silence, to cast a Calumny on the Government then ; and as he suspects, with no good intention, though he refers that to my Opinion ; knowing (as he is pleased

pleased to say) none to appeal to but me. Your Lordship sees now how you are ingaged for want of commanding my Service before the Printers: and I am confident the heat of a Battle would be less formidable to you then the Paper warre you must expect to be assaulted with; wherein, if I be necessitated to have the least hand, your Lordship may be assured it shall be *en Gentilhomme & en amy*, and chiefly with an aim to convince your Lordship of that which hath obscured the Glory of your Adventures and Exploits or Undertakings, in that unfortunate Kingdom; and therefore I forbear giving any Opinion to my Friend, till I have vented my thoughts to your Lordship, which I shall now take the liberty to do.

Upon serious perusal of your Book, I find your Lordships Story of two parts, The First till the Cessation of Arms concluded by the Rebels Commissioners at *Seginstowne*, with the
Marquess

Marquess of *Ormond*, *Sept.* 15, 1643; all which time your Lordship was wholly of the Rebels Party, and under their Pay and Command, which I wish your Lordship had not thought fit for the Press, though there were some Acts of Souldierly bravery in it. The Second Part, From that time till your Lordship finding the ill state of Affairs in *Ireland*, was dispatched by the then Lord Deputy *Clinrickord*, to set out the same to the King in *France*; from whence, though your Lordship procured a Letter from his Majesty to the Lord Deputy, and sent the same by a safe Messenger, yet you returned not again, but engaged in the Service of the Prince of *Conde*. My Lord, I am loath now to make my Remarques upon this Second Part, because your Lordships acting therein at times, under the Confederate Irish their Commission, and under his Majesties Authority at other times, and sometimes under both.

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It will be fitter at present for me to be silent therein, than to attempt the unblending such a mixture, and separate your Acts of Allegiance from those of Opposition to the King, which I must always blame you for; or to condemn you intirely, when some things your Lordship did were by full Authority, though very fatal to the English Protestant interest in that Kingdom, and no ways advantageous to his Majesty or his Affairs.

But the First Part of your Story, which takes up three Sections of your Memoirs, I cannot let pass unanimator and corrected, without condemning the generation of the just; suffering Blemish, and Calumny, to lie upon his Majesty and Government, both in *England* and *Ireland*; and leaving your Lordship in a mistake of having done well, when I hope I shall evince that you did very ill, unless the galantry of a Souldier can expiate for all that was amiss. For this end

I must take notice to your Lordship, that all I find you urge to satisfy your own Conscience, or to vindicate your Honour and Integrity to the World, in this your ingaging your self amongst the Irish, is to this effect: Your Lordship saith, That at the first eruption of the Rebellion (which you seem to tie to the North, but was universal) you acquainted the Lords Justices with your willingness to serve the King against the Rebels, as your Ancestors had formerly done in *Ireland*; but they replying, that your Religion was an Obstacle; there being then a Parliament in that Kingdom sitting, you were resolved to see the event, sending your Brother to your House at *Madingstowne*, in the County of *Kildare*, to secure and defend it, in case there were any rising in those parts. Sometime after the Parliament being dissolved (but you do not mention that you attended your duty in Parliament, when it was sitting, and declaring

declaring against the Rebels) your Lordship desired a Pass from the Justices to go to *England*, but they refusing, you acquainted them with the condition of your Estate, and desired a supply of Money till you could apply to the Parliament of *England* for a Pass to bring you over, which they denyed. You press'd them then to direct you what course you should steer, to which they replied, Go home and make fair weather. You took this advice, and being come, my Lord of *Antrim*, and my Lady Dutchess of *Buckingham* (both Papists. and after that deeply ingaged in the Rebellion) soon followed (whether by concert with your Lordship is not said) and you were very well pleased with so good company. But in a short time the Irish came and drove away great part of your Stock, which you recovered by a party sent out with your Brother, who brought with him two or three of the chiefeſt Conductors of
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that Rabble. This intraged the Irish so much, as you conceived your Brother was not safe there, and therefore sent him to *Dublin*, to attend the Justices Orders, and assure them of your readiness to return on a call, they sending a Convoy, which they promised to do as Occasion required. But your Lordship hearing that you were indicted of High Treason, and hereupon your Brother addressing to the Lords Justices again, to let them know that they had not kept their words with him, in suffering this clandestine proceeding against you (as your Brothers Letter calls it) you went to *Dublin*, and addressed your self to my Lord of *Ormond*, as your Brother did in your behalf to the Lords Justices and Council, to acquaint them with your coming; and upon your appearance before them they ordered you to come the day following, at which time, without calling you in, they committed you to

Mr.

Mr. *Woodcock's* House, one of the Sheriffs of *Dublin*. Your Brother seeing (as he calls it) this rigorous usage towards you, and being refused a Pass for himself to go for *England*, he got away to the King at *York*, and petitioned him that you might be sent for over to be tryed here by your Peers. But his Majesties Answer was, That he had left all the Affairs of *Ireland* to the Parliament; upon which he petitioned the Parliament to the same effect: their Answer was, that they could do nothing without the King. After this your Brother saith, he was continually serving his Majesty in *England*. Your Lordship once more placeth your self at *Madenstowne*, whither you had at first retired by advice of the Lords Justices, and continued there some Five or six moneths after in peace and quietness; but your Lordship doth not mention that other neighbouring places possessed by the English did so; or what intelligence
your

your Lordship had with or gave to the State. But proceed to say, That in the mean while Parties were sent out by the Justices from *Dublin*, and the Towns adjacent, to kill and destroy the Rebels; and the like was done through all parts of the Kingdom. But your Lordship adds, the Officers and Souldiers did not take care enough to distinguish between the Rebels and Subjects, but killed in many places promiscuously; on which partly, and partly on other provocations that proceeded, and some too that followed, the whole Nation finding themselves concerned, took to Arms for their own defence, and particularly the Lords of the Pale did so, who yet at the same time desired the Justices to send their Petition to the King, which was refused. And for their further discouragement, Sir *John Read*, his Majesties sworn Servant (a stranger to the Countrey, uningaged, and an Eye-witness of their proceedings, then upon

upon his Journey to *England*) prevailed with by them, to carry their Remonstrance to his Majesty, and to beg his Pardon for what they had done; coming to *Dublin*, and not concealing his Message, was put to the Rack for his good will. The said Lords having tryed this and other ways to acquaint the King with their Grievances, and all failing, an open War broke forth generally throughout the Kingdom. Your Lordship next takes notice of your accidental entertaining my Lord of *Ormond* at Dinner, immediately after the Battle of *Killrush*, which you were a Spectator of, being in sight of your House; but that some who came with him, turned this another way, and publishing through the Army, that it was a mighty Feast for my Lord *Mount Garret* and the Rebels; this through the English Quarters past for currant. And you believe it was much the cause of this under-hand villainous proceedings (as

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you

you call it) against you fore-mentioned. Your Lordship proceeds to tells us , That after Twenty Weeks that you had remained in Prison , you were ordered to be removed to the Castle of *Dublin* , which startled you , and brought to your thoughts the proceedings against the Earl of *Strafford* , who confiding in his Innocency, lost his Head: you concluded then that Innocency was a scurvey plea in an angry time; besides , your Lordship looked upon the Justices and most of the Council to be of the Parliaments Perswasion ; wherefore you resolved to attempt an escape , and save your self in the Irish Quarters , which your Lordship did, and give us a Relation of the manner of it ; and how your Lordship took your way towards the Mountains of *Wicklow* , where being come , you cared little for the Justices , though before Dinner, your escape being discovered , on notice given to the Justices , you were pursued by a party
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of Horse, taking their way to your House at *Midingsflowne*, which they invested in the night: but not finding your Lordship, after possessing themselves of what your Lordship had within and without, they killed many of your Servants and burnt the House. Your Lordship kept on your way to *Kilkenny*, as much through the Fast Countrey as you could, till you arrived, where you found the Town very full, and many of your acquaintance, all preparing for their Natural Defence; seeing no distinction made, or safety but in Arms. To this end your Lordship saith, They had chosen amongst themselves, out of the most eminent Persons, a Council, and gave it the Title of, *The Supreme Council of the Confederate Catholics of Ireland*; and formed an Oath of Association, by which all were bound to obey them. They had made Four Generals of the Four Provinces, *Perceval of Leinster*, *Barry of Munster*, *Owen-Roe O'neil*

of *Ulster*, and one *Burk* of *Connaught*; and being to give Commissions, they caused a Seal to be made, which was the Seal of the Council. Your Lordship saith, you were sent for to this Council to tell your Story, which you did. And being asked what you intended to do, you answered, to get into *France*, and so to *England*; upon which they told you their condition, and what they were doing for their preservation, perswading you to stay with them, being your Lordship was beloved in the Countrey; had three Sisters married amongst them, was persecuted upon the same score they were, and ruined; so that you had no more to lose but your Lives. You took two or three days to think of this Proposition, examining the Model of Government they had prepared against the meeting of the general Assembly, and most particularly their Oath of Association, which your Lordship judged to be very reasonable, as the case stood.

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On the whole matter you returned to this Council, Thanked them for their good Opinion of you, and engaged your self to run a Fortune with them. Whether Anger and Revenge did not incline you to it as much as any other consideration, you say you cannot resolve; but this you well remember, that you considered how you had been used, and seen your House burning as you passed by; besides, that you were a light man, with no charge, and not any hopes of redress from the King, who was then engaged in an intestine War. Now being thus a Confederate, and having taken the Oath, they made your Lordship one of the Council, and General of the Horse under *Preston*.

The Assembly met the 24th of *October*, 1642. It differed nothing from a Parliament, other then that the Lords and Commons sate together, and not in two Houses.

This your Lordship saith, we see was a force-put upon you, and you

hoped in time, the storm being passed, to return to your old Government under the King. You had many Learned in the Law amongst you, whom you encouraged to keep you as near the Old Government as might be; holding to the Ancient Laws of the Land.

That Assembly, without delay, approved all the Council had done, and settled a Model of Government, *viz.* That at the end of every General Assembly, the Supreme Council should be Confirmed or Changed as they thought fit. That it should consist of Twenty five, six out of each Province, three of the six still Resident.

The 25th was your Lordship, with no Relation to any Province, but to the Kingdom in general. Every Province had a Provincial Assembly, which met on occasions, and each Countrey had Commissioners for Applotting Money within themselves, as it came to their shares, upon the general Applotment
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of the Province. Many other things there were as to Government. If a better came to them written in Irish, it would be wondred at, and hardly could one be found to read it. You say you were not in case to bring to Justice those that begun the Rebellion. But you never saw any of them esteemed or advanced. The general Assembly being put off, the Generals fell to their work, and your Lordships General took in *Burras*, Fort *Faulkland* and *Barrish*, in the *Kings County*, where you were with him. Your Lordship was also with this General the 18th of *March*, 1642, when he was beaten at *Ross* by the Marquess of *Ormond*, and by Collonel *Mork*, since Duke of *Albermarle*, at *Timochoe*, in the *Queens County*, the Fifth of *October*, 1642. Yet afterwards he besieging *Ballynekill*, in the same County, you ventured once more with him; where he having intelligence that Major General *Crawford*

was Besieging *Ballybritas*, a Castle, belonging to the Viscount *Clanmalleer*, he sent your Lordship with a party of Fifteen hundred Horse and Foot, to endeavour the succouring of that place, which your Lordship did ; and *Crawford* drawing off, in passing the River of the *Barrow*, in a Skirmish, had his Thigh broken with a Musket Shot. You returned as *Ballynekill* was rendred. After this your Lordship remained at *Kilkenny*, with the Supream Council, and *Preston* went into the lower parts of the Province with the Army ; of whose Absence, the Enemies Garrisons, in the County of *Catherlagh* and *Queens County*, taking advantage, allarm'd the County of *Kilkenny*, even to the Gates of the City. Your Lordship was then by the Council commanded to go against them. And therefore having gotten together about 2000 Men, with some Cannon, you marched to *Ballynunnry*, in the County of *Catherlagh*, and took

took it ; as also *Cloghgrenan* , where the County of *Wexford's* Regiment mutined , but were reduced and some Examples made , served well for the future. Your Lordship marched thence into the *Queens County* , and Besieged *Bellylenan* , Commanded by the *Grimes's* , a valiant People , with a strong Garrison. But a great breach being made , their Succour came by the way of *Athy*. Your Lordship was not well at this Alarm , but laid upon your Bed in your Tent. However you made no great matter of it , knowing the Succour could not be considerable ; but your Lordship beating their Succour in their view , the besieged Garrison yielded , on condition to march out with their Arms. And then your Lordship was perswaded to head the *Munster* Forces , of whose Success , under your Command , you give a full Relation ; and then returning to *Kilkenny* , gave the Assembly an account of what had passed. Soon after the
Assembly

Assembly being broke up , and a Supream Council chosen to govern in their absence ; you retired to *Kilkish*, your Brother *Butler's* House, to rest your self. The Council went to *Rose*, and whilst they were there , a Trumpet brought them a Letter from the Marquess of *Ormond*, setting forth his being appointed by the King to hear your Grievances , and to treat for an accommodation. The particulars of the Letter you know not , but the Trumpet was quickly dispatched with some slight Answer ; which coming to your knowledge , you repaired to *Kilkenny*, whither the Council was returned ; and on information, finding what you had heard to be true , you sent for Sir *Robert Talbot* , Sir *Richard Barnwall* , Collonel *Walter Bagnal* , and such others as were in the Town, well affected and leading Men of the Assembly, though not of the Council. Now being in your Lodging, you acquainted them with what you had understood ,
and

and that if they would stick to you, you would endeavour to give it a turn. You all agreed on the way, which was to go to the Council then sitting, to take notice of the Kings offer, and their return; and to mind them that the consideration and resolutions concerning Peace and War, the general Assembly reserved to themselves only; and therefore to require that they would send immediately a Trumpet of their own, with a Letter to the Marquess of *Ormond*, giving him to understand they had issued a Summons for a general Assembly, in order to acknowledge the Kings gracious Favour, in naming him his Commissioner to hear your Aggrievances and redress them. This you put in execution, and gained your point, without much resistance.

The Marquess of *Ormond* being thus brought into a Treaty, the Confederate Commissioners met at *Segin-stowne*, near the *Nasse*, as his Excellency

lency had appointed, in order to a Cessation of Arms. At which time all Parties laboured to get into possession of what they could. Collonel *Monk*, after made Duke of *Albermarle*, march'd into the County of *Wicklow* to take in the Harvest, and possess some Castles. Your Lordship being then commanded by the Council to go against him, and having Rendevouz'd your Troops, consisting of about 3000 Horse and Foot at *Ballynekill*, in the County of *Catherlagh*; notice was brought you that Collonel *Monk* was marched away in all haste to the assistance of the Lord *Moor*, then facing *Owen Roe O'neal*, near *Portlester*. You finding your self now to have nothing to do, thought it worth the while to endeavour taking in *Dullerstown*, *Tully*, *Lacagh*, and all other Castles in the County of *Kildare*, between the Rivers of the *Barrow* and *Liffe*, which you did; leaving Garrisons in them. This done, you re-
past

past the *Barrow* at *Monaster-Evan*, marched into *Leix*, and took three or four small places. But as you were going on, had Advice from the Commissioners at *Seginstowne*, that they had on the 15th of *September*, 1642, concluded a Cessation of Arms with the Marquess of *Ormond*, to which you submitted.

As your Lordship did also to the two Peaces of 1646, 1648, both suitable, and of the same strain; and though both were of advantage only to the *Irish*, and highly dishonourable to the Crown of *England*, and destructive to the *English* and *Protestants*, yet both were broken and set at naught by the *Irish* themselves, a just Judgment of God against them, whose hands were full of Blood; and there being no hopes that such untempered Morter could cement them and the Posterity left alive of murdered Parents, Brothers, Sisters, and other Relations; or that ever the *English*
could

could live out of danger, and free of Massacres for the future, without exemplary punishment of the Murderers and Rebels, and bringing them by forfeitures and otherwise, to an absolute subjection to the Laws, and keeping them in that state. as it is now hoped they are, and will be by the watchful Eye of Government.

I shall now, as briefly as I can, take the liberty to give your Lordship impartial Remarks upon what your Lordship hath written In justification of the Rebels, or tending to caluminate his Majesties Government, or English and Protestant Subjects; reserving a fuller account thereof to a fitter occasion.

In the first place, Seeing your Lordships *Memoires*, dedicated to the King, I cannot but take notice how dangerous a thing it is, and of how bad consequence it may prove, especially in this case and juncture, to misinform his Majesty; not that I do suspect or tax your Lordship of design to abuse
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the King ; for I do charitably believe, as your Lordship affirms upon your word, that they do not contain a lie or mistake to your knowledge, yet I must positively aver, and it is my part to make it good, that the Relation wants the most material and pregnant Truths in the principal part thereof, and of most consequence to the Publick, as I doubt not your Lordship will believe and confess upon such glances as I shall make upon particulars as I go over them. But before I proceed, it will import the giving clear light to an affair, which contrary interests have so much endeavoured to perplex, to observe the state that unhappy Kingdom of *Ireland* was in at the Eruption of that fatal Rebellion. A Parliament sitting the year before in *Ireland*, both Houses taking notice of some Grievances growing upon them, and the want of some good New Laws for advancing the Prosperity and good Government of that Kingdom, did

did send chosen Agents or Commissioners, both Lords and Commons, of most esteem amongst them, to attend his Majesty in *England*, for redress of such Grievances, and procuring such new Grants and Graces, as they were directed to move for, from a Gracious King. His Majesty received them favourably and with good dispatch, they returned for *Ireland* fully satisfied, and loaden with all the Graces and Bounties, good Subjects could hope to receive upon such an Address to their Prince; and what needed Confirmation in Parliament, was to be done when the Parliament should meet, at the day to which it was Prorogued. The People of *Ireland* were never better pleased then with the gracious Returns his Majesty had made by their Commissioners. That Kingdom never enjoyed a more profound, and more like to be lasting Peace and Prosperity, Commerce and Trade, both at home and abroad, never flourished more;
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barbarous Customs were never more entirely subdued and abrogated; there never was more Unity, Friendship, and good Agreement, amongst all sorts and degrees (except in the standing root of mischief, the difference in Religion: then at this time, nor more mutual Confidence. I can say, being that time there, the Sheep and the Goats lived quietly together; and there was that intire trust in one another, as to all Matters Civil and Temporal, that I remember very well, the Summer before the Rebellion, The Titular Bishop of *Fernes* coming his Visitation into the County of *Wexford*, where I then dwelt, at the request of a Popish Priest, I lent most of my Silver Plate to entertain the said Bishop with, and had it honestly restored. In this serene and happy state was that Kingdom, every one sitting under his own Vine and Fig-tree in peace, and in the abundance of all things, when, whether surfeiting of Quiet and Plenty,

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or by the just Judgment of God upon a sinful and superstitious Nation; or that the said Committees having staid in *England* till they saw symptoms of a misunderstanding between his Majesty and his two Houses of Parliament in *England*, and being most of them Papists, conceived they had fallen into a fit juncture to set up their darling Idolatry, and restore the pretended Jurisdiction of their Idolized Forraign Power of the Pope of *Rome*, or being in at the Intrigues of the Popish Faction all Court, and receiving encouragement by what they observed, and was infused into them; they had here laid the Foundation of the Massacre and Rebellion, whereof *Ireland* was to be the Scene; or upon what other grounds, I shall not here take upon me to determine, but I well remember that he 23d. of *October*, after their Return, broke out upon a formed Combination and Conspiracy, wherein almost all the said Popish Committees were
leading

leading Men and principal Actors, such a horrid and bloody Massacre and Rebellion, as is not to be parallell'd in History; neither Man, Woman, nor Infants in the Womb, or at the Breast, being spared; but the generality of that Nation turning barbarous and wild *Irish* again, after so many hundred years Subjection to the Crown of *England*, and Endeavours of their Reformation and Civilizing to so vast an expence of Blood and Treasure, as is hardly to be believed. But, my Lord, I may now but touch at things, *Comme en passant*, that I may keep within the bounds of a *Letter*; but when, what I have meditated, and am preparing from Records and authentick, unquestionable Relations and Transactions of that bloody Tragedy and matchless Defection from the Crown and very Nation of *English* Men, shall see the light, your Lordship will be informed, of what, it seems, hath not yet come to your

knowledge, and what must make your Lordship blush, at your so fatal mistake, to have ever been (so far (as you confess your self) in so ill Company, and to have partaken in the least in so foul a Guilt.

Having made this necessary Excursion and Caution, I proceed in your Lordships own Method, Going first with your Lordship to the Lords Justices, acquainting them of your willingness to serve the King against the Rebels, to which no doubt, by advice of his Majesties Privy Council in that Kingdom, they gave a very prudent Answer, That your Religion was an obstacle; and how could they well say less, when it was apperent that it was a Popish Conspiracy, and those of that profession universally ingaged in the Defection; in so much that though the State there would have distinguished them into Allegiance, and for that end, more out of desire to win them than any confidence they had in them, but

to leave them without excuse, put Arms and Ammunition into the hands of the Lord Viscount *Gormanston*; and other Popish Lords and Gentlemen of best Quality and Estates in the English Pale; and who by their re- nures had formerly, and were obliged to assist the Crown, in times of danger; and they, almost all of them, went with his Majesties Arms in Aid of the Rebels; and they who did best, did but restore the Kings Arms, and joyned themselves, and all the power they could make, to the Insurrection; forgetting the Grants and bountiful Gifts of Lands their Ancestors had received from the Crown, for former, and on condition of future Service; in which Rank your Lordship placeth your noble Ancestors, and I heartily wish you had continued that station.

Your Lordships next motion was to the Lords Justices, for a Pass to go for *England*, which, though they could

not consent to, they gave your Lordship good Advice, and which for a time you followed (*viz.*) to go home to your House, being but 20 miles from *Dublin*, and under the protection or reach of the State, as there should be occasion, and as your Lordship found afterwards.

Concerning your Lordships entertaining my Lord of *Antrim* and the Dutchess of *Buckingham* at *Madin-stowe*, whither they soon followed, whither by consent with your Lordship is not said, and your delight in their company, I have nothing to say, but that it was an ill time for Feasting and Jollity, when stript, and almost starved *English*, came flying by your Gate every day from the Rebels Cruelty. And I find, that both the Marquess of *Antrim* and the Dutchess, were after that deeply ingaged in the Rebellion; and her Grace living and dying in the *Irish* Quarters, chose to be buried at *Waterford*. And though
your

your Lordship had power enough, when the *Irish* came and drove away a great part of your Stock ; to recover it, by a party sent out with your Brother, who brought with him two or three of the chiefest Conductors of that Rabble ; yet you do not so much as pretend that you delivered up any of them to Justice (as you ought.) But you say that this enraged the *Irish* so much, as you conceived your Brother was not safe there (where yet you thought fit to continue ; but sending him to *Dublin* to attend the Justices Orders, and assure them of your readiness to return on a Call, they sending a Convoy, which they promised to do as occasion required, yet your Lordship hearing that you were indicted of high Treason (the most publick way of accusing, though your Brothers Letter calls it Clandestine) you went to *Dublin* (it seems you could go when you pleased without a Convoy) but did not, it seems, think fit to appaer

and oppose the Indictment; but being committed by the Lords Justices and Council (the Justification whereof is not the work of this Letter, but will have its proper time and place) your Lordship after addressing your Case, by your Brother, to the King and Parliament in *England*, without success, whither your Brother, being refused a Pass by the Justices, was gotten. It seems your Lordship meditated your escape into the *Irish* Quarters, and relate the manner how you compassed the same, which few will believe your Lordship would have done, or held it the way to save your self, but that you knew you had deserved it of them, and that they had no cause to hurt you, as appeared after, by their making you General of their Horse; and your Lordship, chusing the Oath of Association before that of Allegiance.

Your Lordships having now shifted sides, betake your self roundly to a justification of the Rebels cause, I must follow

follow you your own way, though it be not so methodical as I could wish, and is with great confusion of times and affairs, which the thred of History will reduce to order when time serves. It is true, that Parties were sent out by the Justices, according to his Majesties Direction, to kill and destroy the Rebels throughout all the parts of the Kingdom; and if the Officers and Souldiers did not take care enough (in your Lordships Opinion) to distinguish between the Rebels and the Subjects, but killed in many places promiscuously (whereof your Lordship gives no instances, or of particular complaints to have been made of any such thing) I wou'd fain know what distinction could be made of those that were found in Arms or Action against the Kings Authority; for there will appear to have been no prosecution of others, nor any others killed, unless by such accidents as might happen in full peace, and when the course of Justice is free.

But

But your Lordship saith, that on this partly, and partly on other occasions that preceded, and some too that followed (but you enumerate none) the whole Nation finding themselves concerned, took Arms for their own defence; and particularly the Lords of the Pale did so, who yet at the same time, desired the Justices to send their Petition to the King, which was refused.

This being the chief ground by which your Lordship would justify the most formed and dangerous Conspiracy and Rebellion that ever was in that Kingdom since the Crown of *Englands* first Title thereunto, which your Lordship (being a Peer of *England*) should have distinguished from a just and a lawful War, but do not. I must observe to your Lordship, that its an ill way to acquaint the King with their pretended Grievances, *Lamain a lespe*; they should have done that, if they had any, before their
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treacherous and bloody Massacres and open Rebellion ; but indeed they had none to offer, but what was the just return of their own black Actions ; for your Lordship knows (as I have said before) that by Committees of both Houses of Parliament in *Ireland*, whereof most were Papists , they had just before their Rebellion , returned loaden with such Graces and Condescensions of Favour from the Crown , as had been sufficient (meeting with the least ingenuity, gratitude and humanity) to have made wavering Persons good Subjects ; but the Lord *Macguires* and others Confessions, manifested that they had laid their Design of Treason too deep to retreat easily , when they had once struck the stroak, till finding their error , not from remorse , but from sense of danger imminent (which must inevitably follow, unless they could subdue *England* too. At the first they made a loud cry of Grievances , and at length bid fair, as
they

they had made *Ireland* a field of Blood and Desolation, to disturb *England* also.

Concerning the further discouragement the Rebels received by Sir *John Reads* treatment, and what that was, and upon what grounds, though I have all the passages thereof by me, and will by no means allow of Racking any Man, as being contrary to the Law of *England*; yet I must observe that it was a very jealous time, after so many thousands slaughtered barbarously in cold blood, the Rebellion increasing every day, too great a curiosity arising to know the Bottom of the design, that remedies proportionable might be applied; and Sir *John Read* being one of the Kings Servants and a designing Papist, being there so unseasonably, without being able to give a good account of himself or business, and going away Agent for the Rebels in Arms, without leave of the State, might make them exceed the strict bounds

bounds of Law in his Examination

Your Lordship in the next place taking notice that you had tryed this and other ways to acquaint the King with your Grievances (which I have shewed before were none) and all failing, an open War broke forth generally throughout the Kingdom ; this being a meer colour and pretence , your Lordship unfortunately puts the effect before the pretended cause ; for by what you had said before , and what the truth of the cause is, the horrid Rebellion, (for it never merited the name of a War) was universal, before they so much as alleadged any Grievance. Your next *Memoire* is of your entertaining my Lord of *Ormond* at Dinner after the Battle of *Kilrush*, which you were a Spectator of ; and that some who came with him, turned it another way , publishing through the Army that it was a Feast for my Lord *Mountgarret* and the Rebels, which through the *English* Quarters past for currant.

Here

Here your Lordship, by your own shewing, intimates, that though you were a Spectator from your own House of a Battle, wherein the Crown lay at stake, and had formerly discovered you had force enough to recover your Catel taken away by the Rebels, and apprehend some of their Leaders, which you call Rogues, yet (though a Peer of both Kingdoms) you would be no Actor, though the Kings General was at your Gate, doubting, it seems, the event of Battle; but the success rendring my Lord of *Ormond* Victorious, you set before him that Dinner, which you had not strength to keep from him. And indeed it was generally then held by the *English*, that if the Rebels had gained the day, your Lordship would more frankly have bid the Lord *Mountgarret*, their General (and a *Butler* also) welcome to that Dinner than you did my Lord of *Ormond*; and this is what passeth rant in this particular to this day, which
you

you believe was much the cause of that villainous proceeding (as you call it) fore-mentioned, whereas it seems you were so far from being ill dealt with in the least, that my Lord of *Ormond*, your Guest, though he might have justified his carrying you Prisoner with him to *Dublin*, who would not assist him in Fight, as your Tenure required left you (as some think by a blameable omission) Master of your own House, and without the least damage done you, though much happened after to the Kingdom by your liberty, of which you were for some time restrained in the Sheriffs hands, and after ordered to be removed to the Castle of *Dublin*, which you say startled you, and it brought to your thoughts the proceedings against the Earl of *Strafford*, &c. whereupon you made an escape, probably in the manner related.

But here your Lordship, not distinguishing times, and I not having Papers

pers by me, am so doubtful of an intermixture of Affairs to your advantage, that I must reserve the unfolding thereof to another time, when I shall be able exactly to shew you the times of your Lordships appearing and joyning with the Rebels; and of the proceeding against the Earl of *Strafford*, and how they preceded on the other. I shall only for the present, observe how that great personage (though more innocent than your Lordship could pretend to) never fled his Tryal, well knowing that would have fixed more guilt upon him in construction of Law, than could be proved against him; and judged it more honourable to hazard the losing of his Head than his Innocency. Your Lordships Wisdom took a contrary course, and concluding that Innocency was a scurvy plea in an angry time (as indeed it is in any times, where it is so thin laid, that gross guilt appears under it) you find it safer to arraign the
state

state than to abide a Tryal ; and accordingly taxing them for passion and partiality, and to be of the Parliaments perswasion (when your Lordship would have had them and the whole Kingdom of yours , and by what means time hath manifested) you resolved to attempt an escape and save your self in the *Irish* Quarters , which your Lordship did to the Mountains of *Wicklow* ; where being come , you cared little for the Justices. Is it possible, if your Lordship had thought your self innocent , that you would seek safety, or count your self safe among the most enormously bloody and guilty men that ever were under the Sun ; and fly the Kings Justice with reflection and scorn upon the State, that was pursuing them for their Crimes ; and to avoid the inward stings of Guilt or Apprehensions of Punishment , run head-long into open and a vowed Guilt , among those who were under Gods Vengeance and the Kings. I leave

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this to your Lordships more serious second thoughts.

Being out of the danger of Justice, though your Lordship cared little for the Justices (as how could your Lordship, when you were associated with those who had bid defiance to God and the King) yet your Lordship quickly saw a proof, how civil and merciful they had been to you hitherto, when they upon your escape, shewed you they had power enough to pursue you, and pillage and burn your House in your Mountain view, and use your Family as Enemies, which they might have done before, but their constant course was to endeavour the re-gaining those who had faltered in their Allegiance; and not to increase the number, which was too heavy upon them already.

Your Lordship at length arrived to the beloved place designed, the City of *Kilkenny*, Head Quarters of the Confederate Rebels, where you found
many

many of your acquaintance preparing for their natural defence, seeing no distinction made, or safety but in Arms.

Your Lordships heart was now at rest among your Friends and Relations, to whom indeed, after committing all the wickedness their hand of violence could reach to, being defeated in several Battels by his Majesties Forces, and driven into their Holds, defence became natural, their Crimes having left them no hopes but in Arms; and who could expect no distinction to be made, where they were universally involved in the same black guilt.

For this end your Lordship saith they had chosen a Council, formed an Oath of Association, made Four Generals of the Four Provinces, caused a Seal to be made; raised Monys, constituted a General Assembly, &c. all ensigns of the more than Regal Power they had usurped. To this Council your Lordship was sent for,

and being well prepared by those inclinations which made you forsake the Kings Government and the Laws, you quickly closed with them upon the grounds before expressed, and upon consideration of their model of Government, and very reasonable (as your Lordship judged it) Oath of Association, which your Lordship prints at large, and their desiring your conjunction, with thanks returned, your Lordship engaged your self to run a Fortune with them, upon very ill principles, if anger and revenge inclined you to it as much as any other consideration (which you intimate, though you say you cannot resolve.)

Its strange how the Earl of *Castlehaven* and Lord *Audley* in *England*. could close so cordially with the *Irish*, who had shed so much innocent *English* Blood in full peace, and think himself justified by such an account of his ingagement as this, unless he had been resolved in the justice of their
cause

cause from the beginning, however he carried it with seeming fairness to the Lords Justices till he got out of their reach.

But ingaged your Lordship was, and being thus Confederate, and having taken the Oath of Association, becoming one of their Council, and General of the Horse under *Preston*, and giving the most specious account you can of your proceedings in that quality. Truth being the greatest and best friend, I had rather one or several Persons and Families, should lie under the Consequences of its impartiality, than that the *English* Nation and Protestant Religion should suffer by a timorous unworthy concealing, or withholding any part of it. And since your Lordship, to palliate or justify your own Actions, and the Confederate *Irish* Cause, endeavours to render the generality of the *English* Protestants Criminal, your Lordship must not think it much, that I, one of *English* Race,

and for Religion of the Church of *England*, should be a little plain in their Justification and Defence; and for that end remove the mask your Lordship hath put upon the face of Affairs, by continuing my Remarques upon your Lordships Memoires. And first to the constitution of a Council, it was made up of Members uncapable of that trust by Law. In the Oath of Association, and Propositions grounded thereon, there is not a word but breaths high Treason (except the first thirteen lines, which set up the Kings Name and Authority only in pagentry and mockery, to be crucified and contradicted by all that follows; and yet this Oath your Lordship held very reasonable, as the case then stood, that is, when you and your Confederates were encouraged or heightened with a Power able, as you fancied, to make good what you had sworn. And suitable to this ungodly, trayterous Oath, where all the subsequent proceedings of the Confederates,

federates , their Councils at home and their Actions abroad , their Cessations and pretended Peaces , which I shall take notice of more particularly in their respective series of time.

The general Assembly met the 24th of *October* 1642 ; your Lordship saith it differ'd nothing from a Parliament, but that the Lords and Commons sate together, and not in two Houses. Was this so inconsiderable a difference in the Opinion of a Peer of *England* as well as *Ireland* , or fit for one of so noble Extraction to be submitted to , against Honour, Law and right Reason. But the truth is , and I speak it for the honour of the Nobility of *Ireland*, the Rebels had not debauched enough of them , either for interest or number , to bear the Countenance of a House of Peers , or to be of any considerable figure among that People , who having cast off Majesty, could not be warmed by the beams thereof , which I count the Nobility ; but they resolved of

course into common persons again, and had but single Votes among the Croud, instead of those Honourable Priviledges and Negative Voice, which their Ancestors had acquired as the just reward of their faithfulness to the Crown in former times, and in all Defections and Rebellions since the subjection of that Nation to *England*. And this your Lordship ingeniously confesseth (and saith we see it) was a force-put upon you, and you hoped in time the storm being passed, to return to your old Government under the King. Here you own the being fallen from it, but could your Lordship imagine, or any others believe, this Cob-web pretence possible, were you not all ingaged by the bond of an Oath to the contrary, and to preserve your new upstart treasonable Model and Constitution; and that the storm should never cease till you had by Arms attained a confirmation of all that you had done, for which, by the said Oath,

you

you renounced the receiving any Pardon or Protection, but by your own Sword. But that Assembly differed also from a Parliament in this, That it was called by a packt party of bloody Papists in Rebellion and Confederacy, and had neither Legal nor Regal Authority.

But to conciliate, credit and belief, you add, That there were many learned in the Law amongst you, whom you encouraged to keep you as near the old Government as might be, holding to the Ancient Laws of the Land.

This is as improbable as the other, but if true, is a demonstration that *Irish* Popish Lawyers, are the worst instruments that can be tollerated in *Ireland*. And it is notorious in Fact, that these were the Men that did both contrive and put in order the Rebellion, and frame their whole Constitution, and without whose Council and Abilities (having had their Education in the Inns of Court of *England*) they

they had never come out of that Chaos of Confusion, where they were at first, or reduced their Affairs to a consistency, but had been quickly mastered. And therefore I hope this hint concerning the Lawyers will awaken his Majesty and Parliament of *England*, and the Government in *Ireland*, to provide against the continuance of such dangerous instruments, as the Popish Lawyers have shewed themselves to be, and in probability will so continue; making use of their Learning and Skill for subversion of Government and good Order: So that *Ireland* is never like to be quiet if they be tolerated. Your Lordship proceeds to tell us, that this Assembly without delay approved all the Council had done, (how could they well in gratitude do less, being themselves a Creature of that Councils making) and settled a Model of Government, *viz.* That at the end of every General Assembly, the supream Council should be confirm-
ed

ed or changed, as they thought fit. That it should consist of Twenty five, six out of each Province, three of the six still resident, the 25th was your Lordship, with no relation to any Province, but to the Kingdom in general, &c. Your Lordships Relation was a mock Image of his Majesty, which was also to the Kingdom in general, and, but that it is not now my business, I could here evince that this Constitution cast the over balance of the Government clearly into the *Irish* hands, such of the old *English* Extraction as joyned with them, being Ciphers upon the matter, as it appeared afterwards in practice: so improbable was what your Lordship asserts, that if a Letter came to them written in *Irish*, it would be wondred at, and hardly could one be found to read it, unless you would confess, that those skilled in reading the *Irish* Language are extinct; for the meekest *Irish* of that Kingdom, and all the Popish

pish Clergy, who (if any) are likeli-
 est to be skilled in it, were engaged
 in the Rebellion, and constant promo-
 ters of it, having their Colledges and
 Monasteries in *Kilkenny*, and all Cities
 and chief Towns under the Confede-
 rate *Irish* Power, and wholly at their
 Command. For a close of this Para-
 graph, your Lordship saith, you were
 not in case to bring to Justice those
 that began the Rebellion, but you ne-
 ver saw any of them esteemed or ad-
 vanced. This is strange, when *Owen*
Roe Oneal, *Sir Phelemy Oneal*, *Con*
Oneal, the *Mc. Donnels*, *Mc. Thomas*,
 the *Farrolls*, the *Delyes*, the *Mc. Car-*
tyes, *Mc. Guires*, *Mc. Mahans*, *Fitz-*
patrick's, *Mc. Gennis's*; and generally
 those of the meer *Irish* septs and Fami-
 lies, were chiefly trusted, whose names
 it were too tedious to repeat, but I
 have Authentick Lists of them; but
 indeed I do believe the Confederates,
 even of *English* Extraction, had as
 little will as power to question those
 that

that begun the Rebellion ; and to this day they are so far from any inclination to condemn it, that all their Writings run in Justification of it ; and I never yet met with any that cordially seemed to repent it, or perswade others to it, except only *Peter Walsh*, whom your Lordship calls your Ghostly Father *Caron*, and some few Remonstrants with them, who condemning the Doctrines of Rebellion, King killing, and Deposing, &c. do obliquely censure this Rebellion ; and some of them positively call the beginners and continuers thereof to repentance.

The rest of your Lordships *Memoires* is more History than Justification, as well whilst you continued to serve under the Confederate Catholics, which was till the Peace of 1646, proclaimed, as after, till you left *Ireland*, wherein your Lordships part being mixed of Gallantry and Generosity in some instances, as well as Severity and fierce Prosecution of the
English

English in others, I will not be a critical observer thereof, or lead any to envy your Lordship, the just esteem of whatever you did honourably, though in an ill cause. But since your Lordship lays some weight of merit upon the Cessation, and two Peaces of 1646, and 1648, and expresseth no unfavourable Opinion of that which goes by the name of *Glamorgan's* Peace, and think much that the *Irish* their Estates were given away by the Acts of Settlement, I shall only make some general Remarks upon those particulars, and the whole state of that Rebellion, and so put an end to your Lordships trouble and my own.

And first, I must observe upon the whole matter, that the *Irish* did the *English* more hurt, and advantage themselves more by the Cessation and two first Peaces, than ever they did or could do by open force after the first Massacre. Upon this grounds the Lords Justices and Council, were from
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the beginning averse to them ; and for me to shew the Design and Intrigue of the Cessation and Peaces , which I can do by unquestionable Memorials and Records , will make a great part of a Volumn , and cannot well come within the bounds of a Letter ; but when I have said all , I think fit to your Lordship, upon occasion of your Letter, your Lordship who (as you were an Enemy, as keen as generous) having been by your place and interest privy to all the Cabals and secret Councils against the *English* and *Protestants* , being deeply ingaged in the Roman Catholick Confederacy ; and any other Attempts against them , in what shape or form soever they appeared) will I hope , if you find any thing written by me questionable or doubtful in your opinion, favour me with your severest Reflections thereupon ; for as I design nothing but exact truth wherever it light , so if by inadvertency or want of full information,

I should erre , or come short in the least, your Lordship shall find me ready to retract or supply, but never to persist in it.

Your Lordship knows as well as any man, that the Earl of *Ormond*, made afterwards Marquess and Duke with the same Title, was the first of that Family of the *Botelers*, that was Educated in the Protestant Religion ; his Mother the Lady *Thurles*, Brothers, Sisters, and all his Relations continuing Roman Catholicks, and in the Irish Quarters, and those able to bear Arms, as the Lord *Muskery*, after Earl of *Clancarty*, and Collonel *Fitzpatrick*, his Brother in Law, his Brother Collonel *Richard Butler* of *Kilcash*, and Collonel *George Mathewes*, and other his Relations ; as the Lords *Mountgarret*, *Dunboyne*, and divers other Lords, and others of his Name and Family, were Generals or Commanders of lower Quality in the Rebels Army ; so that his Lordship was upon the matter single
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in any Duty and Allegiance to the Crown; all his Lordships Friends, Kindred and Dependants, taking the contrary part; and his Lordship escaping soon after the Rebellion to *Dublin*, only with the Kings Troop, which he Commanded, and some Servants that attended him. The Earl of *Leicester*, Lord Lieutenant, as he was upon his Journey for *Ireland*, was discharged that Imployment, to make way for the Marquess of *Ormond* to succeed him, who had an unlimited Commission sent him, sole to examine the pretended Grievances of the *Irish*, and for making a Cessation with the Rebels, which he did, and was after made Lord Lieutenant, and concluded the two first Peaces before-mentioned. I have heard Sir *Philip Percival*, a very worthy Person and of a fair Estate, being asked why he would by his Certificates of Defect of Stores, give countenance and furtherance to a Cessation, which

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he

e knew could only advantage the Rebels, and be ruinous to the *English*? Answer, The Stores were really wasted upon unprofitable, fruitless Marches, and then his Certificates being required, he durst not (as an Officer) refuse them, though he was aware of the use would be made of them.

To shew your Lordship how the Cessation operated (laying aside at present, the question of the warrantableness on necessity thereof) and that the two first Peaces were against Law, and several Acts of Parliament, in both Kingdoms (and upon that and other accounts, the validity thereof) I must take another opportunity, when I may discourse things more fully with your Lordship. I can now only briefly tell your Lordship, that all the Proceedings of the Rebels in Arms, and all their Demands, were Treason: That the *English* and Protestants had the Laws on their side, which the *Irish* by combination

bination and force did break, and designed wholly to subvert : That the *Irish* tollerated no Protestants in their Quarters, though that Religion were the only legal Establishment ; but seized and forfeited all their Estates, whilst the Protestants afforded the measure and benefit of the Laws to the *Irish* and Papists, even to those who had been in Rebellion, whensoever they came in or submitted.

It is not then to be wondred at, that the chief and most of the *English* Nobility in *Ireland*, and the generality of *English*, *Scotch*, and *Irish* Protestants of all qualities and degrees, sooner or later, opposed both the Cessation and Peaces, as destructive to them, and derogatory to the Crown, in which number we find, the Earls of *Kildare*, *Thomond*, *Cork*, *Barrimore*, *Drogheda*, *Donnagall*, *Claubrasill*, *Mount Alexander*, &c. The Viscounts of *Valentia*, *Conoway*, *Ranelagh*, *Kin-*
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nelmeky, *Shannon*, &c. Barons or Lords *Elsmond* *Juchequin*, *Blaney*, *Brogbill*, &c. But it were endless to name all, and of no use to your Lordship, who know this as well as I.

By this it appears how ungratefully the *Irish* did requite the Marquess of *Ormond*, for his unwillingness that the whole *Irish* Nation should ruin themselves by their persisting in Rebellion. And now, whether it was their vain confidence to carry the day, or what else occasioned it, they lost the opportunity of deliverance, which the Marquess of *Ormond* being related to so many of them by Blood and Alliance, had compassionately designed for them, though with great hardship and damage to the *English*. And whatever grounds the Marquess of *Ormond* had for the Cessation and Peaces (by which he could have got nothing, but would have incurred manifest loss) which it chiefly concerns himself to vouch, that

that in the eye of the World he may stand clear, as a true *English* Man and faithful Subject. It is apparent, that now by the Forfeiture and Punishment of the *Irish*, his Lordship and Family are the greatest gainers of the Kingdom, and have added to their Inheritances vast scopes of Land, and a Revenue three times greater than what his Paternal Estate was before the Rebellion; and most of his increase is out of their Estates who adheared to the Peaces, or served under his Majesties Ensigns abroad; which shews, that whatsoever of Compassion or Natural Affection, or otherwise, might incline him to make those Peaces, he is in Judgment and Conscience against them, and so hath since appeared, and hath advantage by their laying aside. The like may be said of the Duke of *York*, the Earl of *Arlington*, Lord *Lanesborough*, and others, who have great Estates of the *Irish* freely

given them upon the same foundation. So that 'tis to be hoped whether the Bills already come over to confirm the forfeited Rebels Estates to *English* and Protestants, will do the work or no : That his Grace, or whosoever shall succeed him in the Lieutenancy, will in time transmit such Bills as shall do that work effectually, and unite and strengthen his Majesties Protestant Subjects, to oppose and break the further Designs of that Rebellious Generation, which they will never keep free from, so long as they acknowledge and obey a Forreign Head.

I shall make no reflection at this time upon the Peace called *Glamorgan's* Peace, but what your Lordship gives occasion for by mentioning it, *viz.* That it was the most destructive of all to the *English* and Protestants, but suited best with the Confederate Design of establishing the *Romish* Idolatry, which your Lordship in your Oath of
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Association engaged as deep in as any, excepting the first foundation laid in Blood, a fit basis for a Faction, only supported by Fraud and Cruelty.

One passage in your Lordships *Memoires* I cannot but take notice of, for your Honour, as an *English* Man, That when the Marques of *Ormond* in his extremity, between the Nuncio party and the Parliament of *England*, asked your Lordship with which of his Enemies he should treat. You answered, That you were confident he had resolved that before, there being no question in the case; when it was no question with your Lordship, I wonder how it came to be one with his Lordship; but the success of your Council was happy, and founded upon solid grounds of Reason.

Your Lordship sees I can but glance at particulars in this Letter, and being (by so noble a Pens ingaging in justification of a Quarrel, which casts refle-

tion upon all that took contrary part to the *Irish*, of which number I was one) contrary to my first intention upon the matter, necessitated (in vindication of as just a cause as ever was managed under the Sun) to hasten out the last part of the general History of *Ireland* first (Wherein I shall so impartially make relation beyond all possibility of contradiction, that I doubt not your Lordship will reflect with remorse upon what you have done and written, wherein I differ from you, and the World will know exactly the truth of that sad story.) I shall in the mean time, only as in an abstract, set these things before you, and upon the whole matter in answer to your Lordships specious justification, and for your present mortification, let you know that by Judgment of the King and his Privy Councils and Parliaments in both Kingdoms. You are involved in the guilt of Treason, and under forfeiture

feiture of all you have, and as a friend, yet advise you to get his Majesties Pardon, if the Acts of Parliaments have not precluded you; for its more than I know if all your Lordships active Services in *Ireland* be not yet liable to the utmost penalties and Severities of the Law. So far are they from being fit to be offered as entertainment to his Majesty by an Epistle Dedicatory, as your Lordship hath done.

I find your Lordship in several places reflects upon those who broke the first Peace, and call it unparallell'd breach of Faith, punished by heavy Judgments from Heaven; and yet this was the Confederates own Act. But as if the breach of the Oath of Allegiance by the *Irish*, and their treacherous and bloody defection from the Crown of *England*, were a Peccadillo, your Lordship hardly takes notice of it, but repines at the forfeiture of Estates grounded thereupon, though God and Man agreed in that Vengeance and Punishment. And

And let this Rebellion be compared to all before it, there will not appear, since the *English* Title to *Ireland*, so just and clear grounds of forfeiture and extirpating a Nation, as have done upon this; but the King hath mingled Mercy with Justice; and though by a Providence from Heaven to the *English*, the Marquesses of *Ormond* and *Clanrickard*, his Majesties chief Governors, encouraged the *Irish* to keep up a War against the *English*, wherein they were so much hardened to their ruin, that they were at length intirely subdued, without condition to any save for life, and left to be as miserable as they had made others in all other respects, yet multitudes of them have been restored, and must yet own their Lives and Estates to the Clemency of the King, and the mildness of the *English* Government, which they had cast off, and put themselves under a Forreign Yoke, which neither we nor our Fathers

thers were able to bear. The Wisdom of God thus punishing one sin of theirs with another, till they are scarce a People ; and the *English* and Protestant interest never more flourishing in that Kingdom. Insomuch, that it would be now the greatest folly imaginable in the Government of *England* and *Ireland*, ever to suffer the *Papists* to grow capable of raising such a Rebellion again, which they will certainly do when able ; Bigottery and sottish Ignorance, both of Priests and People in Religion, being the growing root of mischief there.

Upon the whole, since the Cobweb excuses your Lordship hath made, cannot cover the Blood that hath been shed, or bring quiet to the Consciences of any that had hand therein ; and since your Lordship so well knows the Temper and Constitution of the *Irish*, by your long continuance and interest among them, I cannot but yet hope
and

and therefore do with the most friendly adjurations beseech your Lordship herein) that the zeal, which you yet seem to have for the King his Laws, and the *English* Government, will incline you to let him know (the truth you cannot be ignorant of) that they are a Nation never to be trusted till reformed, that so his Majesty and his *English* Subjects may run no more hazards of suffering by confidence in them, or regard to their *Crocodile* Tears and groundless Complaints, by which they have deceived the *English* in all times. And that by your Repentance, imitating your Ghostly Father *Peter Walsh*, his Advice to his Countrey Men for Repentance and change of Principles, your Lordship may give another instance to the World that Allegiance and the Religion you profess may dwell in the same Breast, then which nothing can more conduce to divert the *Irish* from future Attempts of Rebellion.

My

My Lord, I find many Queries fit to be made on your *Memoires*, and many other particulars; a *Redire* therein, but you will, perhaps, think I have done too much already. I shall therefore reserve these to another opportunity, and here close in the wonted manner, with the assurance of my being (savouring in the *Irish* Confederacy and Matter of Religion)

My Lord,

Your Lordships

Affectionate Friend

and Servant.

POST-

Postscript.

T*His Letter was written, as appears, in August 1680, presently after the Earl of CASTLEHAVEN had Published his Memoires, with a Dedication only to the King; but since his Lordships Receipt of this Letter, he was, it seems, convinced of the necessity of writing the Epistle to the Reader, in Condemnation of the Irish Rebellion, which his Lordship hath since caused to be Printed, with the said Memoires.*

F I N I S.

